[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Agitation launched by the Gorkha National Liberation Front for a separate Gorkhaland—Contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): The House will now continue with the Calling Attention. Since the Prime Minister has already intervened and most of the points have been clarified...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: On a point of order. The Prime Minister has made a statement while intervening in the debate. And as it was seen, he was reading out from a written statement. So, let that written statement be circulated to other Members who are still to speak, who are still to participate in the debate, so that if any points are there which can be covered or which need to be replied by them, they can get that opportunity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Every Member, when making his speech, is entitled to keep his notes; it is not a statement. Equally it applies to the Prime Minister. So there is no point of order.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: But he was reading a statement...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): No, no.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): Important observations were made which were not written. You should take note of them.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Even if it was not a point of order, Mr. Vice-Chairman, it was an eminently reasonable request that the honourable Members were making and I think you should provide this facility to the Members on this side as well as on that side. I don't see any difficulty in that. It may not be made available immediately but it can be done a little later so that it will benefit participation of the Members. It is only from that point of view.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): But I have already told you that it is not a statement, it is only notes.

Now I call Mr. Gopalsamy. Before that, I would make a request to the Members to be brief in view of some of the clarifications already made by the Prime Minister, because there is a long list of Members who want to speak.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: But we should give enough material to the Home Minister also to reply.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I actually wanted to be brief before the Prime Minister intervened. But after hearing the speech of the Prime Minister I shall fail in my duty if I do not make certain observations in reply to what the Prime Minister stated on the floor of the House: I was terribly shocked to hear the speech of our Prime Minister which was delivered with the tone of arrogance, with the tone of authoritarianism, with the tone of bulldozing the States ruled by non-Congress-I parties if they are opposed to the Centre, if they do not toe the line of the Centre. And in this funniest statement of the Home Minister, in the concluding paragraph, he is advising the Chief Minister of West Bengal. The Chief Minister of West Bengal is not a member of the slave school. You are advising him to display "the statesmanship that is necessary at this moment and initiate dialogue with all concerned to remove discontent and bring about order and normalcy in the affected areas". Had this wisdom downed before the episode of Andhra Pradesh, things would have been better. At least you have realised that law and order problem

is the concern of the State Government. In the previous paragraph the Central Government tries to inject some poison, instigate and incite the feelings of the Nepali-speaking people in Darjeeling. It goes to say, ".... that the Government of West Bengal will initiate special measures to promote the development of the Darjeeling hills area and its people". Now, this clearly exposes to the world who is the villain of the peace. In the statement you have clearly stated that you do not favour any amendment of the Constitution and you have rejected the demand for regional autonomy. But, in the year 1957, when Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru visited Darjeeling, along with the Communist Party, the local Congress Party also signed a memorandum and submitted it to the then Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, demanding regional autonomy. Now, the Prime Minister says, "We will not accept the demand for regional autonomy". Sir, my good friend, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, the new ally of the Congress (I), the other day made a statement that Jammu would be given regional autonomy. Because he has become a close partner of the Congress (I), that must be the official opinion of the Congress (I) also. Sir, if you say that the West Bengal Government should initiate special measures to promote the development of Darjeeling, I would like to ask a specific question and the the Home Minister, I hope, would answer my question. What was your reaction to the demand to include the Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule? What have you done? Why have you not accepted it? When thousands of workers were thrown out of the coal mines in Meghalaya, what were you doing? Did you take any steps to step that when they were thrown out? That incident triggered the upsurge. And, Sir, one Minister of State of the Union Government, Mr. Ajit Panja, made a damaging statement that the West Bengal Government has diverted the funds meant for hill development. It is is not true. Why have you done all these things? Because, I think, the Congress (I) Government follows the dictum of the Irish revolutionaries that the enemies of Britain are their friends. Whoever is opposed to the West Bengal CPI(M) Government will be your friend. That is why, when Mr. Dipen Ghosh demanded a categorical reply from the Prime Minister with regard to the memorandum submitted by Mr. Subhash Gheisingh to the King of Nepal in 1983, copies of which were circulated to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Governments of the US, USSR, France, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka China, UK, Nepal, etc. and also to a number of prominent political personalities of Nepal, the Prime Minister did not condemn that. In that memorandum, there were very serious accusations against India. "Apartheid and genocide crimes done by the State and the Central Governments of India since Bharat's Independence"—this was in the memorandum which was submitted to the King of Nepal copies of which were sent to the heads of various countries. You are not condemning it. Then it will open the floodgates and anybody could communicate and could sign any type of memorandum to the US and others. Are you encouraging them to have dialogues on foreign affairs, on matters relating to external affairs? I was disappointed when the Prime Minister stood his ground, without condemning this action.

Sir, Mr. Subhas Gheising is an interesting personality. Now he has come out with a statement—I quote:

"Our agitation was all along against the Centre, and it would continue."

You want to create trouble in West Bengal because West Bengal is ruled by CPM which never toes your line—the Left Front.

Then, Sir, our Prime Minister stated that we are opposed to regional autonomy. Also, he has stated that there is only one nationality. But

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

this country consists of many nationalitits. It is a multi-national state.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Dangerous.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It consists of many ethnic groups, many linguistic groups. The unity could be strengthened and maintained if you recognize the adversity. But you have forgotten that. You created trouble in Punjab. You only created Bhindranwale. Now you reap the consequences. Now you are creating troubles in West Bengal. Sir, it is very interesting that in the dictionary of Congress (I), patriotism means that if they are the friends, if they are the allies, of Congress (I) they will be called patriots; if they do not agree with them, they will be dubbed as anti-nationals. You dubbed Farooq Abdullah as anti-national. Now he has become your good friend. Our Prime Minister flies all along to Srinagar to congratulate him.

Sir, this is a very dangerous trend. Also, I would like to make an appeal to the Central Government as well as to my friends, the Left Front Government. When you are agreeing with regional autonomy, by giving Statehood to the Nepali-speaking people, Darjeeling, a lasting peaceful solution can be found. What is wrong in it? This is my appeal both to the Central Government and the West Bengal Government.

The Central Government is trying to create trounbles against the West Bengal Government. But I would like to know from the Government why you are opposed to regional autonomy. Why are you against States. Why are you against including Nepali in the Eighth Schedule, and why have you kept mum when these workers were thrown out of the coalmines in Meghalaya?

श्री रशीद मसूद (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मने मंत्री महोदय का जब बयान पढा तो मुझे बिल्कुल यह बात याद आ गई जो सन् 1982 में पंजाब पर जब डिसकशन हो रहा था, पंजाब पर हमारे होम मिनिस्टर का बयान आया था। पंजाब पर हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब का बयान इससे बिल्कुल मुख्तलिफ नहीं था जो आज हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने गोरखालैंड के बारे में दिया है। मैं यह नहीं समझता हूं कि जब हिन्दुस्तान की सालमियत, एकता और इत्तहाद को खतरा हो, जब हिन्दुस्तान की पूरी कौमीयत को खतरा हो उस वक्त होम मिनिस्टर साहब को ऐसा बयान देना चाहिये या नहीं देना चाहिये। लेकिन इस बयान से सयासत की बू आती है और जब कंट्री के तहफ्फुज का मामला हो, जब कंट्री को एक जगह को जोड़न का मसला हो जब कंट्री को मजबूत बनाने का मसला हो तो हम चाहे इस साइड पर बैठे हुए, लोग हो या उस साइड पर बैठे हुए लोग हों, हमें किसी पार्टी पोलिटिक्स या अपने मफाद की बात नहीं सोचना चाहिये। अफसोस होता है यह पढ़के जब हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब कहते है सी०पी०एम० माना कि वह आपोजिशन पार्टी है, माना कि वह बंगाल में कांग्रेस का मेन राइवल है, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की सालमियत, एकता और अखंडता के लिये वह कांग्रेस से पीछे नहीं है। उसको उन लोगों के बराबरी का दर्जा दिया जाये, जो इस मुल्क के टुकडे कर देना चाहते है जिनको आप बिल्कुल इस तरह का सर्टीफिकेट देना चाहते है कि ये देश द्रोही नहीं है, ये एंटी नेशनलन हीं है, जैसे अपने सन् 1982 में भिडरवाले को संत बता दिया था। उस वक्त भी मैने पार्लियामेंट में बोलते हुए यह बात कहा था, उस वक्त लोक सभा में था इत्तफाक से, यह सन 1982 की बात है।... (**व्यवधान**) हां, यह नवम्बर, 1983 में बयान था। आपने संत बता दिया था भिडरावाले को और फिर यह संत एक दो दिन नहीं रहा, पूरे दो साल तक वह संत बना रहा और आपका पंजाब का मसला आज ऐसी हालत में पहुंच गया है, जहां यह सौप न उगला जा रहा है और न निगला जा रहा है। मैं प्रधान मंत्री साहब की बहुत इज्जत करता हूं बावजूद इसके कि वह नातजुर्बेकार है, लेकिन बहरहाल वह प्राइम

मिनिस्टर हैं इस लिहाज से हर आदमी से का फर्ज है कि वह उसकी इज्जत करे, लेकिन इज्जत का मतलब यह नहीं है कि अगर गलत बात हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब कहते हो होम मिनिस्टर साहब कहते हो या हम में कोई उसे कहता हो जब कंट्री के इन्टेरेस्ट की बात आये तो हम उस पर खामोश हो करगे सिर्फ इसलिये खामोशी अख्तियार कर ले कि यह आदमी इतनी बड़ी पोस्ट पर है, इसकी इतनी ज्यादा इज्जत की जाती है। आज जब वह दोबारा घोष साहब पर इंटरवीन कर रहे थे तो बार-बार अपनी बात को बदल रहे थे। जो स्टेटमेंट पहले दिया था उसके बाद थोड़ा सा अपनी पोजीशन को बदल दिया। फिर तीसरी बार बदल दिया तो और बदल दिया। इस बात की अलामत है जिस जमीन पर आप खड़े हुए है यह जमीन मजबूत नहीं है, बल्कि यह दलदल है। मैं आपसे दरखवास्त करना चाहता हूं कि इस दलदल में फंसने से पहले बेहतर है कि आप वापस आ जाएं। कहीं ऐसा न हो कि आपका यह खेल, आपका यह सियासी आंकडा एक दूसरी पार्टी को, मुखालिफ पार्टी को हराने के लिये, गिराने के लिये बंगाल में हो रहा हो, जिस तरीके से शुरूआत आपने एक रीजनल पार्टी का सत्यानाश करके पंजाब में की थी और उसको भुगतान आज सारे हिन्दुस्तान को देना पड़ रहा है। आज सारे हिन्दुस्तान का आदमी जो हिन्दुस्तान की एकता और इत्तहाद में दिलचस्पी रखता है, जब वह रात को सोता है तो वह सोचता है कि कल हिन्दुस्तान की सलामतियत रहेगी या नहीं रहेगी? आप इसको किस किनारे पर ले जायेंगे? आप हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे किनारे को भी उसी तरफ धकेल रहे हैं। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि एंटी नेशनल आप किस एक्ट विटी को कहेंगे? जो मेमोरेंडम सबमिट किया है कुछ तो घोष साहब ने पढ़ लिया है और एक-दो पैराग्राफ मैं पढ़ना चाहता हूं। मैं ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लूंगा। मैं उसका एक पैराग्राफ पढ़ रहा हूं।

"Even after thirty-six years after Bharat Independence, the settled race of Gorkhas of more than six millions are living as degraded Human beings in every part of the recovery of India and in parts of their own ceded and of sugaulee Treaty (of their own ceded land of Sugaulee Treoty) by surrendering their national spirit, national identity, historical pride and their homeland and destiny."

इसके अन्दर यह तो नहीं कहा गया कि हम हिन्दुस्तान को हम तोड़ना चाहते हैं। लेकिन बाकी हिन्दुस्तान को लेण्ड जी है, वह देअर ओन होमलेण्ड नहीं है, इसका मतलब क्या है, जरा यह बता दें? अगर वाकई हिन्दुस्तान की होमलैण्ड हमारी और आपकी है और वह होमलैण्ड सुगाली ट्रीट्री के तहत् बंगाल की दी गयी है या हिन्दुस्तान के पास आयी है, वह होमलैण्ड गोरखाज की है, तो फिर सेशसनिज्म किसको कहते हैं? फिर अलगाववाद किसको कहते हैं? फिर हिन्दुस्तान को तोड़ने की साजिश किसको कहते है?

एक दूसरा पैराग्राफ पढ़ूंगा। इस सिलसिले में सन् 1950 की ट्रीटी के बारे में है :—

"1950 Treaty violated the very principle of right of self-determination and thus permanently sealed the fate of the whole settled Gorkhas in present independent India by sustaining the same old dehumanising cruel method of outdated colonitlism.... that the Gorkhas were perpetually subjected to fight the wars of other countries by losing everything of their own national identity, political safeguard and their historical homeland and destiny."

इसमें तो आपकी बिल्कुल जो बुनियाद है आपके कंस्टीट्यूशन की, आपके संविधान की, आपके मुल्क की एकता और इत्तिहाद की, उसके ऊपर सवाल किया गया है और बिल्कुल वही बात,

[श्री रशीद मसूद]

आज आपने डा० फारूख अब्दुल्ला के साथ की है, उनके साथ समझौता किया है। कल तक यही डा० फारूख साहब एण्टी नेशनलिस्ट थे, मुल्क के सबसे बड़े दुश्मन थे और इसलिये उनको हटाया गया था कि ये एण्टी नेशनल एक्विविस्ट को सपोर्ट कर रहे थे काश्मीर में। इस कारण उनको बाहर कर दिया गया था क्योंकि इसमें आपका पोलिटिकल इण्टरेस्ट इन्वोल्व था और आज उन्हीं डा० फारूख अब्दुल्ला को साथ लगाने के लिये आपको जरूरत है वही पोलिटिकल स्टेबलाइजेशन की अपनी पार्टी के लिये। आपने आज उन्ही फारूख अब्दुल्ला साहब को बना दिया वहां का चीफ मिनिस्टर और जो राइट आफ डिटरमिनेशन की बात आप लोग करते थे, वही बात आप करें . . . (**समय की घंटी**)

एक थोडी सी बात और करूंगा। वैसे अभी तो शुरू ही नहीं हुआ। मामला इतना बड़ा है, पांच सात मिनिट में तो इस पर बात हो ही नहीं सकती। बीस मिनिट तो हमारे जो गवर्नमेंट के मिनिस्टर है प्राइमरी मिनिस्टर से लेकर दूसरे मिनिस्टर तक, उनके स्टटमेंट के कंट्राडिकशन पढ़ने को ही चाहिये। यह इतना अहम मसला है, यह काल अन्टेशन का मसला नहीं है, इसको तो फुलफ्लेश डिसकशन होना चाहिये कम से कम आठ घंटे का, तब जाकर सारे तथ्य लोगों के सामने आते कि इस मुल्क को कौन मजबूत बनाना चाहता है और कौन अपनी पार्टी के इण्टरेस्ट में मुल्क को तोड़ना चाहता है। घीसिंग साहब ने एक स्पीच दी है 2 जून को कुरुसोग में, उसका थोड़ा सा हिस्सा पढ़ना चाहता हूं :—

"When the British Commissioner was about to leave India giving Pakistan to Muslims, Hindustan to Gandhi, trust territory to Nagas and Darjeeling to Gorkhas (Nepali), but on the day of 19-1-1946, the All India Gorkha League leaders committed a great blunder and a mistake opposing the grant of separate province of Darjeeling.... After 1947 we became the domiciled citizens but what about this land (Darjeeling)? How this land (Darjeeling) went to Bengal, and Bharat?"

यानी उनको हिन्दुस्तानी कहने वाला या हिन्दुस्तान के साथ बागी न मानने वाला, मैं समझता हूं कि इस मुल्क का सबसे बडा दुश्मन है। इसके अन्दर साफ साफ उन्होंने कहा कि मेरी यह बात तो समझ में आ गयी, गोरखा लैंड वालों ने हमारे साथ ज्यादती की और उन्होंने यह बात इतिफाक कर लिया कि हम हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर रहेंगे डोमीसाइल यहां की सिटीजन शिप लें लेंगें। लेकिन यह मेंमी समघ में नही आयाघी सिंग साहब फरमा रहे है कि यह लेण्ड, जो सुगाली ट्रीटी के तहत हिन्दुस्तान को मिली थी, यह भारत या बंगाल को कैसे हो गया। तो मैं आपसे पूछना चाहूंगा कि आपको डेंफिनेशन क्या है एण्टी नशनलिस्ट की, वह जरा बता दें।

अब मैं आपको एक ताजा मिसाल बता दूं : "शाही सिद्दीकी" उदू का अखबार है, नई दुनिया उसके एडीटर है। उन्होंने जगजीत सिंह चौहान का इण्टरव्यू लिया, जैसे कि बहुत सारे लोगों न लिया है। लकिन इन्टरव्यू लेने के ऊपर उनको बन्द कर दिया गया है जेल के अन्दर बीसियों एम० पीज० लिख चुक है। लेकिन कुछ नहीं हुआ और इस बारें में हमारी होम मिनिस्टर साहब से बात हुई थी, उन्होंने कहा था कि हमे पता नहीं है। आप कहते है कि होम मिनिस्टरी का मामला है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि मिनिस्टर साहब से कि आप हमें साफ साफ यह बताये कि एण्टी नेशनलिस्ट की आपकी डेफिनेशन क्या है ? हमें यह मालूम देता है कि हर बार आदमी एण्टी नेशनलिस्ट है, जिससे आपकी पार्टी को नुकसान होता हो और हर वह आदमी सबसे बड़ा नेशनलिस्ट है, जो आपकी पार्टी को मजबूत करता हो। हिन्दुस्तान टूटे, हिन्दुस्तान बचे, हिन्दुस्तान रहे या न रहे नेशनलिज्म का आपका यह कन्सेप्शन नहीं है और यह बात हिन्दुस्तान के लोग

रफ्ता रफ्ता महसूस कर रहे हैं। सवाल यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोग तो महसूस कर रहे है, लेकिन आपको हटाने का नम्बर तो आयेगा 90 में, तब तक आपका पोलिस से मुल्क टूटेगा और हम कोई हल नहीं निकाल सकेंगे। आखिर में मेरी दरख्वास्त है कि आप बताये कि नेशनलिस्ट की डफिनेशन क्या है।

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the way in which the Gorkhaland dispute has developed and the situation as it exists today is most unfortunate We have reached an impasse and it is in the interests of every one that steps are taken early to break this deadlock. For quite some time there have been violent clashes amongst the CPM supporters and the GNLF. Firearms have been used and there have been blockades of roads. There has also been disruption of supplies to the tea gardens and Darjeeling, which was always thriving on the tourist traffic. But this year there was no tourist traffic to Darjeeling and the economic got a very big jolt.

Sir, the Government of West Bengal says that there is evidence of separatism in the speeches of Gorkhaland leaders. There is no doubt that as far as the memorandum to the UN is concerned, which was submitted by Mr. Ghisingh, I would have normally regarded it as very mischievous and anti-national. But after Mr. Ghisingh has expressed his regrets, I would say that it was more foolish than mischievous. Sir, here I would like to make a silght distinction to between asking for a separate country and a separate State. Asking for a separate country amounts to sedition. But asking for a separate State is not an anti-national activity. Had such a demand been anti-national, probably there would not have been the birth of Andhra Pradesh and Mararashtra. But, Sir, as I said, I would like to mention that I am totally opposed as far as a separate State within the Indian Union is concerned to Gorkhaland.

Sir, the population of Darjeeling district, unfortunately I could not get the figures of 1981, but in 1971 it was 4.56 lakhs, should be 5-1/2 lakhs or six lakhs. How can such a small area as Darjeeling District, with such a small population, become a separate State?

Sir, the Prime Minister has made an excellent statement when he said that there will be no bifurcation of West Bangal. That was a very good statement. The Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Chidambaram has declared that there is no question of there being any Gorkhaland. He has also stated that there will be no abrogation of the 1980 Indo-Nepal Treaty.

Sir, so far as the Centre's position is conerned, I am very happy that they have made their position very clear. The question now is what is to be done and what is the position of Gorkhaland? Sir, the Gorkhas are of Nepalese origin. Their simplicity is well known. The guidelessness of the hill people has been exploited by the plains people. There may be some truth in that because the fact is that there are very few people who are a Nepalese origin who might be either in white-collared jobs or in any superior positions as far as the country is concerned. That way, Sir, they certainly deserve our sympathy. The Gorkhas are a brave people and they are also simple. They are disciplined and they are also hard working. Sir, I definitely feel that something should be done for the upliftment of the Gorkhas so that they get a fair treatment. West Bengal Government has proposed some sort of regional automany. The question is, what are the implications of that? I would definitely oppose it because in case this is considered, that will create similar demands in almost every State of India. You might have read in the papers that some sort of demand from time to time is coming as far as Bihar is concerned. I have no doubt that in case the Constitution is changed, such demands will come from almost every State.

[Shri Krishna Kumar Birla]

What exactly is our objective? is our objective the integration of the country of which all he learders from time to time so very vociferously say that this is our aim and this should be our aim or is our aim disintegration of the country? I would very strongly like urge upon my friends here, Members of Parliament here, that to give special treatment or some sort of regional autonomy, will lead to disintegration of the country. What is really needed is to break this impasse. Discussion should start as early as possible. Mr. Gheisingh should be told in very clear terms that as far as violence is concerned, he has got to shun it, as far as extremism is concerned, he has to abandon it. Violence has to be eschewed and I would say that whereas it is the prime responsibility of the Government of Weet Bengal to take the lead in this matter, whatever help the Centre can give in consultation with the Government of West Bengal—either by consulting them or at their own instance—it should give as early as possible any try to bring Mr. Ghisingh and the Government of West Bengal together. I would only say that the Government of West Bengal should not stand on a false sense of prestige. Let the dialogue start and we should not permit the present situation to drift, which would be a very dangerous trend. The Prime Minister has said very clearly on a number of times that we should take note of the backwardness of the Gorkha people. He has also said that we should make special efforts to see that the area develops. This should be our main objective. As to what way the conditions of this backward area could improve, as far as the living standards are concerned, as far as more employment is concerned, as far as more industries are concerned, let a dialogue begin as early as possible. This will be my humble appeal to the Government of West Bengal and to my friends here. Thank you.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Respected Chairperson, actually we are having a discussion on two statements, one issued by our learned Minister of Home portfolio, who is absent for the time being, and another statement that the Prime Minister was kind enough to issue when he had come to speak on his foreign tour. Therefore, it needs time to express our opinion on this. But since I am in the august company of number one industrialist of the country, Mr. Birla, therefore, while paying heed to his suggestion that Government of West Bengal should talk immediately to Mr. Gheisingh, I hope Mr. Birla and his fellow industrialists will follow the same rule when the workers come up with their demands in the form of memorandum to the industrialists.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA: As far as my company is concerned, in West Bengal there is no dispute pending. Our relations are very good. The hon. Member could enquire about it. There has been no strike. Our relations are very good for the last twenty years.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: The point is, it is quite interesting to know that Mr. Birla is also affected because business in Darjeeling District has been disrupted. But I can tell you that it is not because of the C.P.I. (M) resorting to violent action that business there has been disrupted. As a result of this production has declined. Production has fallen miserably. Tourist industry has been affected. The economy as a whole in that region is in a state of paralysis. But it is not the C.P.I. (M) people who are responsible for this. Mr. Birla should have knowledge what it means when you say it is 100-hour *bandh*. Many friends are here who have a deep knowledge of the Indian national movement. Gandhiji had called for strikes and hartals. Indian National Congress had called for strikes and hartals. But never before we have witnessed a bandh for 100 hours at a stretch. Therefore, it is the sustained political adventourism

by the GNLF movement which has brought that part of Darjeeling to a ruin.

Mr. Subash Gheising is foolish. He is not anti-national, but foolish because he has apologised. But it should be understood that even a foolish person can do mischief. It is for us to understand that if an Indian citizen writes to the King of Nepal, if an Indian citizen writes to the Chairman of the Security Council, if an Indian citizen writes to the heads of the Soviet Union and America, that act is an act not of patriotism, but it is an act which is against patriotism. I am sorry, I am extremely sorry, this has not been taken note of. The statement of the Home Minister only softpedals, underestimates, the dangerous portents of the situation which is prevailing there. At the outset, I should say, why we call this anti-national? Anti-national elements are there. We call them anti-national not because a separate Gorkha State is being demanded. We call them anti-national because they are in collusion with the imperialist forces. Our Ministers and our leaders in the Government had been speaking of plans for destabilising the country as a whole. The leader of the forces behind the attempts at destabilisation is no doubt America. Who does not know that Nepal—some people in Nepal—has a hand in the Gorkhaland movement? Who does not that the Pashupathinath temple is one of the most important centres for hatching conspiracies against India? Who does not know that money comes from Nepal? Who does not know that through the Mirik border, arms are coming in abundance to that part of the Indian territory?

Therefore, taking all these facts together, I am constrained to declare that the movement which is going on there is led by an anti-national force. I think, our hon. Prime Minister and the Minister of Home Affairs should have been above partisan politics. They should have national interest in their mind, they should have wisdom and sagacity, they should have a broad mind, not to fall a prey to partisan politics, but to rise above that and become nationalist in their outlook and see the dangerous consequences of the whole movement. Unfortunately, Sir, today in this House, we have listened to the leader of the nation who refuses to take into cognisance the dangerous potential of the movement which is going on in Darjeeling, being inspired by foreign powers, being supported by foreign powers, being aided by foreign powers and which is taking place as a part of the total world strategy to destabilise this country. I call it not patriotic—I do not say that it is unpatriotic; may be, it is unparliamentary—not to see the danger here. I categorically declare on behalf of the Communist Party of India, on behalf of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), because we had been together at that time. I am on the National Council of the Communist Party of India. I declare categorically that it is a total baseless insinuation to say that the Communist movement, the Communist Party, in 1948, had demanded a separate State for the Gorkha people. It is a baseless insinuation. I say that with all emphasis at my command and I say that on behalf of all the Communists who are present in the House. It is baseless to say that Undivided Communist Party never demanded a separate State for the Gorkha people. Perhaps, it is for the Communists to say what they have declared, what they have demanded, it is not for the people outside the party to say what they have demanded. Our records and political resolutions are all open. They are there in the National Archives. Please find out a single sentence which will prove that the Communist Party stood for a separate Gorkha State.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): It is there in the speeches of Shri Jyoti Basu that he was inciting the Gorkhas in 1976.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: What is

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

he saying? In 1986 Shri Jyoti Basu was not there in the West Bengal Assembly. We beycotted the Assembly. You don't know that. It is not in the history.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: It is part of the history that he was trying to incite the Gokhas. You issued two types of election manifetos, one in English and the other in Nepal. (*Interruptions*). Maybe, it was not precisely in 1976 but it was in 1970s. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, sometimes ignorance is more stupendous than stupidity. Ignorance and stupidity move side by side. People should know that in 1976 Shri Jyoti Basu was not a member of the West Bengal Assembly.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: I say, it may not be in 1976 but definitely in 1970s.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu): For the information of the House in 1947 the undivided Communist party supported that Gorkha stand.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: They supported the regional autonomy.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: There is a piece of evidence... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: This is wrong. When the matter was being debated in the Constituent Assembly, it is in the light of that. (*Interruptions*).

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): On a point of order. Hon. Dipen Ghosh takes upon himself to answer every Member's view-point. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You kept quiet at that time because it suits you. You did not object at that time.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: It that is so, we will also stand up and answer... (*Interruptions*). Is Mr. Dipen Ghosh been a self-appointed chairman of the House? He has to abide by the rules. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): He does not give answers which are required by you. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Mr. Ghosh, the cat is out of the bag. You want to make it an election issue, that is why you are refering to... (*Interruptions*). The Prime Minister said that we will not make it an election issue and this is your answer to that.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You don't say that the P.M. said it, say that the Congress President said it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Mr. Dipen Ghosh, you have taken the maximum time. You have made your point. Now let him speak.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Communist Party never demanded separate state for the Gorkhas. Communist party demanded regional autonomy and I quote: On 15th May, 1955, a resolution was passed by Darjeeling district committee of Indian National Congress which demanded a statutory district council to aid and advise the Government on matters of administration.

Sir, this conclusively proves that the demand for autonomy for the Gorkha people is not the demand of the Communists only. It was supported by the Congress, at least by the Congress of Darjeeling District. And as far as I remember, on a number of occasions, the Communist Party, CPI and CPI(M) and the Congress party of Darjeeling District had submitted a memorandum.

4.00 P.M.

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal): Sir, on a point of order. The District Congress Committee which passed that resolution, because the PCC did not accept that recommendation subsequently, was dissolved and the DCC was reconstituted.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, hon. Member is confusing the time. I speak not of 1987; I speak of 1977. I do not suppose my hon. friend has knowledge of the developments in his party at that time.

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal): Sir, I know better than Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta why the District Congress Committee was dissolved and reconstituted. I heard him properly and that is why I intervened.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I admit that. Not only that, let me quote from an official resolution that the Assembly of West Bengal passed. I hope nobody shall stand up and say that the Congress members of the Assembly had been expelled because they were a party to the resolution. Anyway, in 1977, Comrade Biren Bose MLA from Siliguri moved the following resolution which was unanimously passed by the State Assembly. I am quoting from the resolution:

> "The Nepali-speaking population of India had been for a long time demanding the constitutional recognition of their language.
>
> In 1969, the United Front government of West Bengal recognised Nepali as official language alongside Bengali...
>
> In this circumstance, this Assembly is recommending to the Central Government the constitutional recognition of Nepali language by its inclusion in the Eighth Schedule, so that the Nepali-speaking population can participate more fully in the national life of the country."

That is not the end of it. Again in 1981 another resolution was passed by the West Bengal Assembly unanimously recommending to the Central Government that Nepali language be included in the Eighth Schedule.

Therefore, Sir, the basic two demands that the Communists had been fighting for are not the demands of the Communists alone. This has been for a long time the demand of the majority of people of West Bengal, including the people living in plains and at that particular moment of time the Congress had been a party to the resolution on language passed by the State Assembly. And on the question of regional autonomy, at least the District Congress Committee of Darjeeling had been a party to it in recommending jointly that regional autonomy should be given. Therefore, Sir.... (*Time bell rings*) Sir, I beg you to give me a little more time since I am the second speaker from West Bengal.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Criteria is not that.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Secondly, Sir, I am really ashamed. Things should be looked in this perspective. If you want to kill a dog, give it a bad name. The whole attack has been concentrated on CPM. CPM is being equated with GNLF. What is the situation there? The situation there is that cult of violence is being practised, gun-point politics is being enunciated and the whole slogan is "one who is not with them is against them". Therefore even those who prefer to keep silent and mum are being attacked. Houses are being burnt, people are being killed. Even the CPI candidate in the constituency of Kalimpong has been given a threatening letter. A large number of CPI cadres are also affected. Therefore, it is not a confrontation between CPM and GNLF. It is actually an unashamed attack by the armed gangs of GNLF on the population on the Nepali population who prefer to protest against their policies. They have not attacked a single Bengali.

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

That is quote correct. But attack is being launched against all those Nepali-speaking people who are not with them. They would go and encircle a house. I am speaking from my personal experience. I had been to Darjeeling after the firing; I had been to Mirak and Kalimpong after the disturbances. I have my own personal experience. I wish the hon. Home Minister should have found time at least to go over there and talk to the people and see for himself the level of violence being conducted there. Therefore, violence is being conducted on a mass scale. Sir, if somebody is attacked, he must have the right to defend himself. If bombs are thrown at Mr. Buta Singh, I would ask him to say, is he going to throw back a bouquet? If I throw a bomb at him, will he throw back a bouquet at me? I would like that question to be answered.... (*Interruptions*)...Every individual in West Bengal, every individual in the country as a whole, has a right to defend himself, and he cannot do it empty-handed. He must be prepared for defence. Such preparedness for defence is being interpreted by our political leaders as a form of confrontation and the CPI(M) and GNLF are being equated, put on par.

Sir, may I draw the attention of the honourable Home Minister and ask him: Is it not a fact that armed groups are being raised in Punjab to fight terrorists? If we could raise armed groups to fight terrorists in Punjab, why cannot the people of West Bengal do it?... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: What is the relevance?

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I will defend myself and say why I am comparing so. Please have a little patience... (*Interruptions*) ... Our Home Minister knows. You do not know.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: No armed group is raised to fight terrorism in Punjab. The Government is fighting terrorism effectively in Punjab through the legal machinery.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I am speaking with full authority. The Communist Party of India is having armed volunteers in Punjab to defend itself. I declare in the House today that the Communist Party of India is having armed volunteers to defend its comrades and offices in Punjab. We do it because... (*Interruptions*)... There is an analogy in the situation. The point is, the Communist Party of India has lost 19 valuable comrades on the soil of Punjab. Our Comrade Darshan Singh Canadian was brutally murdered. If the terrorists can have their game, we have a right to foil their game. In Punjab we are having armed groups and volunteers to defend our own offices and we shall continue to do it whether you like it or not. In a similar way, if a party office is sought to be blasted away with dynamite as was done in the case of the Marxists in Darjeeling, do you mean to say that our CPI(M) comrades have no right to defend themselves? I do not think the people belonging to the CPI(M) are second grade citizens. They have the same right for self-defence as the Communists are having in Punjab or the Congress is having in Punjab, Comrade...Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Please conclude now.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I will finish, Sir. It is most unfortunate...

श्री कल्पनाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : कामरेड चेयरमेन कह रहे हैं, इसको एक्सपंज किया जाय ।

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: What is the harm?

SHRI MOSTAFA BIN QUASEM (West Bengal): He did not say that. He corrected himself immediately... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: The point is, we have been given a lecture on patriotism by no other a person than the Leader of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Mr. Das Gupta, you will have to wind up now. Otherwise I will call the next speaker.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Three minutes more, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): No, no: You have already taken a lot of time.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Two minutes more.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: How many minutes?... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: The most important point is, we have been given a lecture on patriotism. The Leader of the House has told that the Communists do not believe that India is one nation. It has been said that Communists always engineer fissiparous tendencies. I would like to ask you, Sir, who is bearing the burnt of fighting secessionism, who is bearing the brunt of fighting terrorism, who is bearing the brunt of fighting the anti-national forces in Punjab, other than the Communists? Yes, you are there. I call you 'comrade'. Comrade Buta Singh is there, of course. But CPI is second to none in fighting. I hope comrade Buta Singh does not feel ashamed because for some time he had been a cause I call him "comrade" because for some time he had been a comrade.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Mr. Gupta, you are forcing me to call the next speaker. You will have to conclude.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I am finishing. It is Communists who are fighting secession whether it is in Punjab or in Darjeeling. It is Communists who are fighting for national integrity, it is Communists who are fighting to keep India together in any part of the country as a whole. I tell you, Sir, Communists are second to none in defending the sovereignty of the country, Communists are second to none in defending the integrity of the country.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA (Bihar): Is he talking about the Communist theory? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, the point is, this is allegience to democratic principles and systems.

Sir may last point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): I am sorry. I cannot allow.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: My last point is...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): No. You do not conclude your points.

SHRI VITHAL RAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: The list of his last points is never ending.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: My last point is, I only appeal to the leaders of the Government, to the Ministers of the Government, not to look at the problem of Gorkhaland from a narrow, partisan, political angle. They have to rise to the occasion. The point is not whether you do not want to divide West Bengal The point is your ambiguous stand, your faltering stand. You have been blowing hot and cold. Your attitude has in many ways helped the Gorkhaland organisers. Therefore, I believe, your action in Delhi has helped the Gorkhaland people. You must not do it. I want you to fall in line with the Government of West Bengal and jointly find a solution so that the sensitive part of the Indian border can be saved from disaster. The Government must be aware that this is the most sensitive part of the border, and that border cannot be allowed to remain so much violent as it is now. Therefore, my appeal to you shall be not to use it as an election compaign, as an election stunt against the West Bengal Government but to rise about the current national politics and become leaders of the nation.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after the indefensible defence which has been put by my Communist colleagues on the other side, there is very little for me to say. But the issue raised poses some fundamental questions in our country. And these are the issues which have been exercising my mind, agitating my mind from time to time. And I have tried in my humble way to give vent to these issues in this House because these are the issues of the minorities.

By Article 29 of our Constitution we have guaranteed to citizens of our country the protection for their language, the protection for their culture, the protection for their heritage. And I ask myself why it is that there is in some parts of our country a growing feeling of discrimination, a growing feeling of exploitation, a growing feeling of repression. And I asked my friends, the Communists in the other side why the Gorkhas, who are in an integral part of West Bengal, in the first instance asked to be made a Union Territory and only next a State. That really is the answer to the question which we are discussing. It is an age-old question. If one goes into the history of the question ,one finds that was as early as 1907 that Gorkhas asked for a separate administrative set-up. It was the British Government at that time. Their demand has been growing ever since then and today we find ourselves in the present position.

There are two or three aspects and I will deal with them in that order. The first—the issue before us. Second the violence part of it and the third, which has been said and which is the easiest for me to dispel, is the motivation of the Centre, of the Congress, for the electoral gains. I will deal with this problem in these three categories.

Well, in Bombay, we had both the Gorkhas and the Bengalis. As I grew up, I found invariably the watchman would be a Gorkha, would be the shortest man there, but full of valour, very simple in habits and a great comrade. If any part of India was close to Maharashtra it was Bengal. We share many finer things of life We share the love of culture, our music, our theatre. We view with each other to find out who surpasses the other in these fields. We had a common history in the revolutionary movement of the country. It is, therefore, quite agonising to find that there is this crisis of identity so far as these Gorkhas are concerned, when they are in West Bengal: Now, what is it due to? It is due, as I said, partly to constant exploitation, constant deprivation, constant denial of opportunities of employment or of development. It is—I say so—indeed a matter of regret that despite this fact being acknowledged from time to time the West Bengal Government has not thought it fit to make certain corrections or take remedial measures where this feeling of exploitation, this feeling of discrimination is removed from among the Gorkhas who have a Nepali origin.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Do you have the data to prove?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): No, you are not expected to answer this.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: First let me come to the violence part. This House, as I said...

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Please no running commentary.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: In this House, when I spoke on the nuclear arming and other arming of Pakistan by the U.S.A., when I spoke on the Punjab issue only last week, I said that these are the issues on which the House must with one voice and we

must, one and all, with one voice here depricate the violence which is going on in Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong. But let me tell you that it takes two sides for violence. I hold no brief for them and I condemn them for their violent activities. I think some reason is being seen by Gheising because he has rendered a letter of apology to which I will come a little letter, but what I find in a newspaper here I would like to read. It is written here and I quote:

"Mounting campaign against the CPM has largely been helped by its own actions. Recently the State leadership of the party has told the Darjeeling unit that it should go ahead in meeting the terror tactics adopted by the GNLF. The result is that in tea-gardens and in the rural areas where the Marxists enjoy organised support, the GNLF had often to bear the brunt of the type of militancy which it had first unleashed, not always effective in retaliating in these places the GNLF has chosen to build up its compaign against Marxists in its own strong hold—the towns and adjoining areas."

Sir, it was shocking for me to hear at least one Member saying that they will have armed troops to meet the violence which affect them. I think this is a very serious situation and I would appeal to the Government and particulary the Communist Party to see that they don't exacerate the climate of violence which is already there. Therefore, as I find, both parties are to be blamed and condemned for the violence.

There is the second aspect of it. Let us understand what is national and what is anti-national. We have Indians who are no longer Indian citizens. But they have Indian origin. They are spread all over the world. There would be hardly any one of us member of whose family, our cousins of our brothers or our nephews have not gone and settled in the U.S.A. Do they cease to be our cousins because they have taken American citizenship? But if they write to us or if they meet our Prime Minister when he goes there despite the fact that they are American citizens, does it show that they are anti-Americans or anti their Government? In all the international fora where I had the fortune to work, I have defended all the Tamils of Sri Lankan citizenship. Does that mean the Tamilians are not Sri Lankans? As was rightly said by our hon. Prime Minister there is a complete misconception and confusion in the minds of CPI(M). Now if anybody writes to the United Nations, first it should not be done. But, Sir, on a body called the United Nations Sub Commission for prevention of discrimination and Protection of Minorities. I am a member and I know how many complaints come to us from India. Swami Agnivesh, who contested as the President of Janata Party comes there every year and says that look at India, it is indulging in bonded labour system. This is a slavery which is going on in our country. There are other organisations who come and talk about dowry deaths. They talk about *devadasi* system. So far as the Sikhs are concerned, their complaints literally run into hundreds. I would not call Swami Agnivesh as anti-national just because he thought it fit to raise his voice in some international forum. I won't do it. If I had the option, I won't do it. I would say, yes, I will take my case to the Parliament. I will take my case to the Supreme Court which enforces Fundamental rights in our country. I will take my case to the press which is vigilant about the maladies in our society. I will agitate my case through the various non-governmental organisations which are gaining power. I would not agree that just because somebody writes that he is going to

[Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare]

be anti-national. I beg to differ here. It is a question of democracy. It is a question of tolerance. This is what Mr. Gheising writes and I will just quote in his letter of apology written in September.

> "As I have stated we felt constrained to send the memorandum to the United Nations and some Governments in anger and desperation. At the same time, what we did was done openly and not clandestinely. We would like to point out that it is not uncommon in various ethnic and other organisations in India and elsewhere to address communications on their grievances and on the issue of the human rights to the United Nations and other international organisations and Governments. We followed this well-known practice without realising that CPI(M) and others opposed to us and our genuine demands would misinterpret our motive and use this to malign us and our movement."

I think let us not talk more about this anti-nationalism. Gorkhas have played...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Perhaps it is drafted by you.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: This is not drafted by me.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: ...as you are advocating. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I am saying, don't be sensitive and don't make a debating point out of it? I said many people do it. That does not mean they are anti-national. The second point is about some memorandum which was sent to King Birendra of Nepal. If you talk about citizens, if tomorrow, there is some visa which is introduced, people come to us. It is not that. Even in Africa when the Africans of Indian Origin, they were being thrown out, they came to us and we did whatever little we could do for them. Therefore, this is not a correct way of looking at it. Our India has been a rainbow. She has assimilated all invaders who have come to her. All religions exist here side by side and let us not only keep up that spirit of tolerance but let us also promote and enrich the spirit of tolerance and I do not think, small things should be exaggerated to an extent where they get totally out of focus. I do not want to go into the black record of the violence of Communist Party in India but sooner they try to erase it and not try to make it more dark...I won't use the word bright; it will be totally an inap word, ore darker, as has been done by Comrade Gurudas Das Gupta by saying that he will have troops ready...It is like a Chinese name, Mun-Mun, Das-Das. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, I can't understand. Statehood is not a problem. Sir, Bengal has 294 seats in the Assembly. Maharashtra has 288. I know you had a few more than us. (*Interruptions*) I know, you are a little more populous than us. You are 5½ crores. Therefore, out of this 5½ crores, what is the Gorkha population? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Should I give you the details?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: If it is 1 per cent or 2 per cent, then you please give it to me. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: No, it is 3 seats. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Now, whatever it may be. The point which I am making is it is not a question of figures. It is a not a matter of looking at the record. It is a matter of substance. How will the small minority state be economically viable or geographically viable? But a long stan-

ding demand that you create a separate district, that could have been done. What is the use of writing to the Central Government that you give them regional autonomy? . . .

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: India's total Nepali speaking population is 14,19,000. In Bengal, throughout all districts of the State, Nepali speaking population is 6,15,000 and in Darjeeling district, Nepali Speaking population is 4,56,000 but in India, in totality, it is 14 lakhs.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: So, it only proves my point.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: So, all these 14 lakhs have gone there.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Who says so? (*Time bell rings*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Please continue.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Sir, I am really sorry but this has gone beyond confusion. I cannot help him any more at all. The next point they are saying is we are doing it for some electoral gains. Now, again, I am correcting. I think the number of seats which can be won, are Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kerseong, the only three. Is there any fourth seat? If that is the case, then you can correct me Mr. Ghosh. You can look into the book and tell me.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I will tell you.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Sir, out of 294, we want to win three seats. I mean somebody must be out of mind to get into this type electoral alliance. And I would humbly ask the hon. Home Minister whether the truth about or not a report in *Ananda Bazar Patrika* of the 10th November has said that there is some sort of an arrangement between the Central Government and the Gorkhas that the Central Government will give them a Union Territory after the Assembly elections if they vote for the Congress (I).

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): It supports your point.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Let me tell you, the boot is on the other leg. They are fanning these chauvinist, fissiparous tendencies for their own political gains. And I am fortified by what is written in an article which appeared on the 10th October, 1986.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal) in the Chair]

This is the summing up:

> "The CPI(M) too is trying its best to keep things alive so that it can whip up Bengali sentiments against the Centre and Mr. Gheising."

Therefore, here is the truth as to who is using whom for the purpose of political gains. I do not want to say more. It is a matter which should concern the whole country because it really affects a valiant minority amongst us. The solution for it is a political solution. We must do it with sagacity, with restraint, with understanding, with compassion. This Government of Rajivji is determined not only to exclude violence but also to protect and promote the culture, the linguistic and other ethnic rights of the minorities. Thank you.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Sir, the performance of the Prime Minister today as extraordinary. I thought we are dealing with an issue which is delicate, sensitive and which involves national unity and national integration. I did not expect him to be swayed by partisan considerations. One can charge my friend, Mr. Dipen Ghosh, that he was partisan. But when the Prime Minister speaks as Prime Minister, it is expected of him to rise above small, petty and partisan

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considerations. What has been most astonishing is that the Prime Minister has been taking several positions, not one. That has caused confusion in our minds. He took a position that there was nothing wrong in the main demands of Mr. Ghising and his organisation. He took a position that there is nothing anti-national about his statements, about his activities; he took a stand that the Government of West Bengal was solely responsible to deal with the situation, thereby saying impliedly that it is only an administrative problem, a law and order problem. May I appeal to the Prime Minister that it is very dangerous for him to bring in politics in such issues, he should not seek a game of power and look at this problem or any problem only from the point of view of electoral benefits to his party. By seeing his performance today I am constrained to observe that he is indulging in what I call politics of political piracy. I use the words 'politics of political piracy' after seeing and reading his various statements on these issues in the past. You must look at the whole situation from a comprehensive view, from a study of the background of the GNLF, its activities and the various statements that have been made by its chief. All the utterances have got to be taken together, their pith and substance has got to be understood. It is not correct to take a few statements from what he has said to come to a conclusion. I would just give, because of paucity of time, a few instances to show how his activities are not healthy, sound, are not based on national compulsions. On 13-3-86 in a meeting held in Ghoom, at the hall of Bharat Dong, GNLF decided on an 11-point programme of action. In that I would read out only three. What does the programme say? One of the programmes says—

"According to the party, Article 7 of the Indo-Nepal Treaty of 1950 has relegated the Indian Nepalis to status of immigrants. The party will burn Article 7 of the said Treaty."

Then, anothehr point of programme is—

"The Gorkhas of Darjeeling and the plains will not observe or celebrate the 15th August, 26th January, Gandhi Jayanti, Netaji Jayanti and other National Celebrations until and unless the Government of India concedes the demand for Gorkhaland."...

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTACHARJEE (Assam): The AGP did not celebrate these days and your Janata Party gave support to it. So you have no face to say this.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: This is the document. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTACHARJEE: You gave support to them. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: This is the document. (*Interruptions*). I am not speaking on my own. This is not my document. You can verify it. You can verify this document.

Sir, the eleventh point in the programme is to protest against the alleged colonial attitude towards the Gorkhas by the Government of India. The Party decided to organise a movement for non-payment of taxes and loans. Sir, on the 25th May, 1986—there is a reference here to this—there were a number of posters and one of the posters contained this slogan: "Please quit the army at once. Save our lives and fight the CRPF.—Your Relatives". The memorandum which was submitted by Mr. Ghising to His Majesty the King of Nepal and the other heads of Governments has already been quoted. But I do not want to quote much. I only want to point out that in the document the questions of plebiscite and self-determination and the abrogation of the

Indo-Nepal Treaty and the protection of the ceded Nepali districts are mentioned. Now, the Home Minister, Mr. Buta Singh, my friend, has said that Mr. Ghising has written a letter that the purpose of this document, of this memorandum, was to highlight some grievances. Are they grievances? Which are the quarters to which these grievances should be addressed? Either to the West Bengal Government or to the Centre and not to the Nepal Government. The memorandum was submitted to a foreign monarch and foreign heads of Governments and the memorandum specifically says that the UN Charter should be invoked to protect the basic rights and interests of the Gorkhas. All these utterances and this memorandum have got to be taken together to assess whether this movement is really within rational limits and within justifiable limits or is going beyond that. Sir, I am afraid, the Prime Minister, having committed initial follies, tried to correct himself later on. I am glad that he has corrected his position and if he had committed certain follies in the past, if some wrongs have been committed by him, he should say so. (*Time bell rings*) And, Sir, he should come out categorically saying that what he said was not true and must say that he is resiling from that position. Sir, the statement of the Home Minister has said that he is not prepared to accept separates Statehood for the Gorkhas. He has also said that he is opposed to the abrogation of the Indo-Nepal Treaty of 1950. He has further said that he is not prepared to amend the Constitution. But he has conceded perhaps in his statement—I want his clarification on this—that he is prepared to consider an autonomous district of the Nepali-speaking people.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Without amending the Constitution.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: That is what I am saying.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Without amending the Constitution. There is a difference between the two.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I have been only wanting to get it clarified. If this is so, I will be very happy.

Sir, this issue has come up not because the West Bengal Government has created this situation. I am not holding any brief for them and it is for them to defend themselves. They have got their own Government. They have their own party. But what I say is this. You should not create a *sine qua non* which you did in Punjab, in respect of this issue. For what you did in Punjab you are paying. I want to give just a word of caution to my friend that what he is doing is that he wants to derive political benefits out of this issue. My friend, Mr. Bhandare, said that in Darjeeling there are only three seats. "What is there for the Congress?" Quite right. There are only three seats. It is not that. It is to create a political type of climate at the time of elections. Let us not look into the whole thing from the point of view of elections, from the point of view of party. (*Interruptions*) It applies to both. The Prime Minister today spoke like the President of Congress Party. He did not speak like the Prime Minister of India. (*Interruptions*) you are bound to support him: I know that.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: See the transcript.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Finally, I think there is a deeper motive than this. Mr. Bhandare referred to only three seats. You are not foolish enough to think on these small terms. I think your bigger game is to destabilise West Bengal on the eve of election and create an opportunity for you to intervene and impose President's rule. That was your game in the past, and that is your game even now. You would like to impose

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President's rule on the ground that there is collapse of the law and order and there is break-down of the constitutional machinery. This seems to be the ulterior motive behind the Prime Minister or your party. (*Time Bell rings*) Therefore, Sir, I warn the Government. This is my assessment.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: You were never so wrong in your life as it is now.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: In my assessment I am not wrong. You said once that Farooq Abdullah was anti-national. Now you are having an alliance with him, an unholy alliance with him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Prof. C. Lakshmanna. Ten minutes only. There are about 8 speakers now. We have to conclude.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what is being discussed today, as it was pleaded by the Prime Minister, should be discussed dispassionately, objectively. And when we say 'objectively', it applies to all sections of society and all sections of the House.

Now, the Gorkhaland issue is sought to be understood as an economic problem and as a political problem. An attempt was made by some of the Members from the other side to make this issue an economic issue in which the West Bengal Government has failed to understand its implications and, therefore, it has committed a mistake. The thrust of the presentations of some of the Members, perhaps including the Prime Minister, has been this. Now, my good friend, Comrade Ghosh earlier indicated as to whether the issue in Gorkha land is economic or not. I do not want to go into those details. But even if it is an economic issue and even if the Gorkhas have not been in the mainstream as claimed by Mr. Bhandare, does it give them a right to ask for separation and to indulge in activities which could be termed as anti-national? If we look at the levels of economioc development of most of the tribal areas in this country, we will find that they are lees developed as compared to other areas. There have been cases in some of these tribal areas where they were pleading for separate statehood on the plea that they have been neglected. What is the stand of the Government of India? Does it treat the issue of Gorkha land as amended by Mr. Subhash Gheising and as claimed by the Home Minister? Is it to be treated at par with, say, some people demanding for Jharkhand as a separate State or some other area as a separate State? Therefore when we are looking at the issues, let us not try to look at them in a lop-sided manner or in a brushing manner. If there is the problem of economy, perhaps West Bengal Government is justified in saying that they have been asking the Union Government for quite some time that you make it an autonomous district. If it is an autonomous district, there can be an autonomic district council. Perhaps all the love and affection which is shown by the Members of the Treasury Benches for the development of Gorkha land ends when it comes to the question of acceptance of autonomous status for the hill districts or for Darjeeling District as asked by the West Bengal Government. The Government of India is not prepared for that. Therefore, where is the justification for saying that the issue of Gorkha land is an economic issue?

If we look at the stand of Subhash Gheising, it takes three or four stances at the same time. In the first instance, it is the letters which he wrote to the King of Nepal, to the United Nations and to the Prime Ministers of several countries. The second is some of the speeches which he has made earlier. All these things could be treated as one stand or one aspect of the stand taken by Mr. Subhash Gheising. The second is what he has written to the Home Minister and what is being claimed by the Home Minister and the Prime Minister with regard to the stand take by Mr. Gheisiny. Even the statement says that it is mainly for the creation of a separate State of

Gorkha Land within the Union of India and for the abrogation of Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty of 1950. That is what even the Home Minister says. On both the counts, the Government of India has already made its stand clear. According to the Home Minister and according to the Prime Minister, there is no question of division of West Bengal, there cannot be a separate State and the Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty, with special reference to Clause 7, cannot be abrogated.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: They don't understand.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I think after having said that, you also don't understand. You think you understand, but you display your ignorance.

SHRI BUTA SINGH: On your part.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: On my part! I am proving it.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: What is your position?

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I am stating my position. After all, I am here to give categorically as to what is my position not for sidetracking the issues.

AN HON. MEMBER: You give the Telugu Desam position.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: When I stand here, when I speak here, I speak for Telugu Desam. There is no divergence in what I speak and what my Party stands. May be that is the prerogative of your Party where there have been occasions when somebody speaks something and the partyline is different. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BUTA SINGH: Freedom of speech.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Yes, freedom of speech is my birth right.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): Which you cannot curb.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I will try to defend it so long as I am able to speak. And this is what great Jawaharlal Nehru said. But that is besides the point.

Sir, the third point is what Mr. Ghising in the recent days has been saying. He has made two statements. One is as late as 6th November when he says that his fight is only against the Central Government. Should I read it out? And the other is a speech he made earlier. In both of these things he said that his stand is against the Central Government. Therefore, it is futile to look towards Subash Ghising as saying the same thing because he goes on shifting his change. If that is the case I see no reason why the Union Government should hang around it and try to defend him that he is only asking for a separate State which you yourself have not agreed, and that he is only asking for the abrogation of the Indo-Nepal Treaty. Sir, there is another thing which is very interesting. The Prime Minister of the country takes the occasions which are not concerned at all even to voice this sort of thing. And if you say that it is political, then he will immediately come forward and say that it is not political. He went to Karwar for dedicating to the nation a new naval establishment there. Was it the occasion for the Prime Minister to speak when he was addressing the public meeting that there is a movement going on in West Bengal and they say that that movement is anti-national and I see no reason that it is anti-national as per the information available with me and... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh): It was a public meeting. Why should you forget it? In a public meeting he can say anything.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Mr. Sukul, you cannot catch me on this. I have said that it was a public meeting.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Your leaders too talk of everything in public meetings.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: You cannot catch me on that. I myself said that it was a public meeting. And ultimately he says that there is violence on both the sides. I just do not understand what does he mean by this. (*Interruptions*) The Prime Minister of a country goes there. There are so many foreign correspondents. He

[Prof. C. Lakshmanna]

has gone there for a different purpose and that too in Karnataka. What is the reference to it, I ask. You should know it first. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL) : Please continue with the subject....

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: I am on the subject.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL) : And try to conclude.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: Therefore, the Prime Minister of the country thinks it fit to indulge in these things.

AN HON. MEMBER: What wrong is there?

PROF. C. LAKSHMANA : If it is not wrong, what is wrong, I do not know. It it is not politically unethical, what is politically unethical, I do not know because the occasion did not demand it. Therefore, I only say that the politicising of this issue has not rested with the West Bengal Government or the CPM or anybody else but it is squarely resting with the Union Government and the Congress Party and the Prime Minister....(*Interruptions*) Yes, according to me. How can I say that it is according to you because you have not the courage to say that. I know that. (*Interruptions*)

5.00 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): There is a statement at 5 o'clock.

PROF C. LKSHMANNA : Yes, I know. Now the question is..... (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): He is concluding in a minute.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA : Sir, the Prime Minister has said on the floor of House, what is West Bengal doing? What should West Bengal do? Should they talk to Subhash Ghising and others when the Government of India itself made it clear that so far as the question of granting a separate State is concerned, it is not possible, abrogation is not possible. Even to the Government of West Bengal they have said, no, no, we will not include the Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule, we will not accept your proposal for an autonomous district council or granting of autonomy. If this is the case, you tell me what are the parameters within which the Government of West Bengal can talk to Subhash Ghising. I want to have an answer to this question. This is a question which has been put but which could never be answered because there is no answer.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Prof. Lakshmanna, you will continue later. Now, the Health Minister will make the Statement first.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

II. RE. Demands of Junior Doctors Federation of Delhi

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND MINISTER OF HEALTH AND FAMILY WELFARE (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Hon'ble Members may recollect the Statement I had made on 10th November, 1986, in regard to the Resident Doctors' strike. I had indicated that though the Doctors had threatened to go on strike, the efforts to find an amicable settlement were still being pursued. These efforts have been continuing and the differences in regard to the various demands have narrowed down.

The Finance Minister and myself had discussions with the officials to decide on the concessions we can offer. Even as I am speaking to you, the Officers and representatives of the Resident Doctors Association are meeting to thrash out a mutually acceptable solution. I hope that by tomorrow the situation would become clear and I will be able to place the relevant developments and facts before the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL): I think that